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ABSTRACT

A comprehensive study of the types of care provided for Swedish children is presented. The point is made that the three major frameworks which support the Swedish philosophy of early childhood education are those of Arnold Gesell, Jean Piaget, and Erik H. Erikson. From all three sources, preschool teachers learn the concept of epigenesis, the proper rate and proper sequence for normal development. To the extent that it is possible, all day care centers have a mix of racial and ethnic groups, and they try to maintain an even ratio of boys to girls. There are various types of day care centers in Sweden. One of these is the Minnie, which accommodates children in the one-to-seven year group. Children are placed by the Social Bureau according to when parents apply to the Day Care Unit, that is, in the order in which names appear on the waiting list. Priority, however, is given to working mothers, disabled mothers, students, and single parent families. Children come from all parts of the city. The Minnies are not supposed to give just custodial care but to have the same pedagogical standard and content as the nursery schools which are open to children from 4-7 for three hours on weekdays. Swedish nursery schools are viewed as a supplement to the often small Swedish nuclear family and day nurseries, and free time centers are seen as a substitute for care in the home. (Author/CK)

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Preschool Education and
Day Care For Swedish Children

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INTRODUCTION: FORSBERG'S MINNIE *

Forsberg's Minnie day nursery (daghem) is a beautiful place to live from seven in the morning until five in the late afternoon. It is located in the midst of a new development of single and two-family homes about a mile from downtown Lund in the South of Sweden. The Center is in a one-story red brick building especially designed for this purpose, similar in style to the homes surrounding it. The building and furnishings, many toys and all durable equipment were donated as a Forsberg family memorial but the operating budget is provided by the Social Bureau of Lund. Building specifications meet state requirements and the program is directly supervised by a professionally educated social worker in the Day Care Unit of the Social Bureau.

Children are placed by the Social Bureau according to when parents apply to the Day Care Unit, that is, in the order in which names appear on the waiting list. Priority, however, is given to working mothers, disabled mothers, students, and single parent families. Children come from all parts of the city, not only from this neighborhood. There is easy access by public transportation or bicycles if they are equipped with baskets designed for transporting young children. Families in all income ranges are represented, but none are very rich or very poor. Sweden has a very small Negro population but many new immigrants from Southern Europe and Turkey (over 400,000 of a Swedish population of 8 million). To the extent that it is possible every center, including the Minnie, has a mix of racial and ethnic groups, and they try to maintain an even ratio of boys to girls.

This Center accommodates 48 children:

1. Eight in the one-to-two year group.
2. Ten in the two-to-three year group.
3. 12 to 15 in the three-to-five year group.
4. 18 to 20 in the five-to-seven year group.

These groups or departments are staffed by:

1. Two nursery nurses for the eight babies.
2. One preschool teacher and one nurse for ten two-to-three year olds.

*The author gratefully acknowledges the help given by Marianne Kärre and Ingrid Arvidson in providing access to information and informants which made this study possible.

3. Two preschool teachers for 12 to 15 three-to-five year olds.

4. Two preschool teachers for 18 to 20 five-to-seven year olds.

School starting age in Sweden is seven.

In addition to teachers and nurses, staff includes the director or headmistress, two kitchen staff and maintenance workers.

Children arrive from 6:30 a.m. but not later than 10:30 a.m. Places are reserved for children who need them regularly for at least 5 hours everyday. Breakfast is served between 7:00 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. It varies every day, but typically consists of cereal, yogurt, milk, bread and butter.

After breakfast it is time for free play. For children three and older, the half-hour between 10:00 and 10:30 a.m. is for group activity, singing or playing games, led by the teacher. For children under three this group activity lasts for only five or ten minutes. Activities are "flexible, depending on the children's interest."

Lunch is at 11:30 at an unhurried pace, a time for learning as well as eating. Afterward the children clear and wipe off the table and rinse dishes. A lot of talking goes on all the time with much warm encouragement by adults. Children are taught to manipulate utensils but are allowed to feed themselves and as much or as little food as they want, with no concern for the mess and no coercion.

Naptime is 12:30. There is a quiet corner for the older children if they do not wish to nap. But all of them must be in the sleeproom for about ten minutes at the beginning of naptime. After that they may get up and play quietly if they are not sleepy. Cots slide upended into wall closets much as trays are stored in kitchen cupboards. They are easily folded up and put away after naptime.

All children brush their teeth and have a story before naptime. Stories may be accompanied by home-made picture books.

From about two o'clock activities are going again. In good weather the children go outdoors. Each department has its own fenced-in play yard with indoor-outdoor carpeting, and a common garden for growing vegetables which the children plant, harvest and eat. Except for the babies, each department also has its own kitchen and a workshop, each scaled to the appropriate size. The children do a lot of cooking and baking, some of it for their lunches, using recipe books made of pictures. Boys as well as girls cook and girls use the workshop. There is great emphasis on minimizing sex role differences.

Each unit has two playrooms one of which includes the kitchen, and a workshop, a lavatory scaled to size, storage space for materials and equipment, an office for staff and an isolation room for sick children. The isolation room also has pets in cages and is set up as a "tea corner." When not in use for a sick child, anyone can go in to watch and help to feed and care for the animals.

Each child has his own cup, tooth brush and towel in a separate open cupboard which is marked with a fruit sticker to identify it for him. Each baby has his towels, diapers, and changes of clothing in a separate closed cupboard to guard against infection. There are small toilets for the youngest children, and all toilets have grates over the open seats to keep the toddlers from slipping in and being frightened.

In addition to the age-graded departments, there is a central section of the building which houses the director's office, a reception room for visitors, staff kitchen and dining room, a lounge and additional storage closets.

The possibilities for activity are varied. In addition to sand and water play, cooking and "shop," there is finger-painting, clay modeling, "dress-up" and dramatics, music with a piano for the teacher and rhythm instruments for the children, Negro and white dolls of all sizes and doll clothes, play-house corners properly furnished, construction and stacking blocks in varying sizes, wheeled-toys to push pull, or ride, and slides and climbing apparatus, both indoors and outdoors. For the babies there are carriages and strollers, cribs to nap in, windows down to the floor to look out of, a milk kitchen and a diaper changing room. Children change into play clothes when they arrive and clothing can be washed and dried on the premises. Both indoors and outside there is space for running, rolling, crawling, hiding, climbing, grouping and being alone. Everywhere there are interesting things to touch, feel, hear and see. There are collages all over; the walls are decorated with them in bright and soft colors and lots of different textures. Interior walls are made of brick and a variety of woods. Floors are vinyl tile. Every room has large windows for air and sunshine and sights. Walls are yellow, orange, blue or green; decorated with cork, burlap, flannel, seeds and snap-shots, felt animals. . . all sorts of shapes, sizes, textures and colors. Mobiles are child-made.

Six hours a week are set aside for the staff to make instructional materials. On the day I visited nurses were making puzzles for the one-to-two year olds.

The children are quite at liberty to draw and paint and work with clay or water. They use large newsprint a yard wide and five feet long and fist-sized crayons. They run around barefooted; they ride tractors, wheel trucks, push a wooden train on a wooden track, sweep up the play-house and re-arrange large size doll furniture in the doll corner. A two-year old boy comes riding by on a tractor--stops, gets off, and listens to the engine with a stethoscope. A girl climbs up on a hobbyhorse. Threes and fours sit at a small table and paint egg cartons. Some sit on

small rugs and play with farm animals. There are many stuffed animals, small and carryable, huge and dragable. Everything is washable, colorful and flowers are everywhere. They grow profusely indoors and outdoors and are cut for each small table.

The five and six year olds move freely in and out of the fenced-in play yard but are watched carefully. One swings from a climbing rope; two others are in the dress-up corner. Two boys and a girl in the small "tea room" (isolation room) are drinking water in small tea cups, watching the pets in four different cages and talking about them. The 18 fives and sixes have four large play rooms (instead of two) and two smaller play rooms.

From 2:00 p.m. parents come to get the children, but most come around 5 o'clock. A teacher stops to give some mother the "news of the day"; a toddler catches sight of her, runs to grab his pacifier from a hook labeled with an orange sticker and runs again to greet her.

* * * * *

Forsberg's Minnie is typical of the day nurseries in Sweden. They are not supposed to give just custodial care but to have the same pedagogical standard and content as the nursery schools which are open to children from 4-7 for three hours on weekdays. When visiting the Minnie and observing children and staff in cheerful and energetic interaction, one begins to look at whether the varied activities are randomly patterned or whether they are structured into a curriculum for pre-school education. And then one begins to wonder about the philosophy of child development that informs this social exchange.

I. Early Children Supervision

A. Philosophy of Education

Goals For Preschool Education: The three major frameworks which support the Swedish philosophy of early childhood education are those of Arnold Gesell, Jean Piaget and Erik H. Erikson. From all three sources pre-school teachers learn the concept of epigenesis, the proper rate and proper sequence for normal development. They use a pedagogical approach similar to that of the English infant schools, "the discovery method." The intent is to offer a physically and socially stimulating environment in which children may learn in a relaxed and informal way what they are ready to "discover" in their world. Teachers offer guidance but do not impose structure, and they teach children the rules of appropriate social behavior for participation in small groups, with one's peers and with adults who are not in one's family. The National Board of Education

states as the rather vague goal of nursery school education that it should "complement and supplement homes to train to adjustment, cooperation and solidarity with a bigger group than the family."

When asked to state their goals for pre-school education, teachers list the following items:*

1. To learn to work in a group.
2. To act spontaneously; to overcome shyness and suppress nervous behaviors.
3. To learn good habits; to be tidy, punctual, polite.
4. To learn self-help skills such as how to dress and undress.
5. To learn respect for rules and prohibitions.
6. To learn to sit still and listen and to develop concentration ability.
7. To develop manual dexterity and skill in the use of tools.
8. To improve speaking ability; to overcome speech defects.
9. To stimulate curiosity and discovery; to stimulate aesthetic interests.
10. To learn motoric control over one's body.
11. To become accustomed to good hygiene habits.
12. To learn something about nature and the social environment-the-community.
13. To prepare for school.**

These goals are stated in very general terms compared, for example, to the program of instruction¹ provided for Soviet pre-school teachers which states:

"Five year olds should be taught to hold scissors correctly, to cut evenly in broad and narrow strips. Six year olds can be taught to cut papers straight, in squares, triangles and later houses, boats, and flags. Then they can cut circles in oval form, for example, the outline of a chicken or airplane."

Swedish pre-school teachers do not want to be tied to a curriculum so exacting, and at present they are very free to choose the methods they use. Activities include painting, baking, gymnastics, story-telling.

*This and the following information presented in this section is based in part on two extensive studies of pre-school teachers carried out in 1968-1969 by K. Stukat at the Pedagogical Institute of the University of Gothenburg and E. M. Köhler at the University of Lund, and on my own observations and discussions with teachers.

**Note this goal is last on the list.

group singing, some efforts to teach color and form discrimination, and instruction in traffic safety which is given great emphasis in Sweden.

Separation: What do teachers do about a child who does not want to leave his father or mother when he comes to school? Without exception, they report that they let the parent stay for awhile. In the meantime, they talk with the child and try to distract him from his distress. They recognize that gradual transitions lessen the shock of separation. Dependency is not seen as an annoying characteristic.

Dependency: The independence of nursery school children increases with age but so does their dependency. Independence has to do with routine instrumental tasks such as the number of things a child can do for himself; increasing dependency is more a personal and emotional matter. Teacher behavior is important in developing or modifying both types of behavior. The day care teachers are ready to help a child with dressing or feeding only if he really needs help; they neither respond immediately nor disregard a request; and they easily take a child to lap to satisfy his need for affection and physical contact.

Aggression: Aggressive behavior gives teachers "the most trouble," perhaps because they attribute primary importance to the development of "good social adjustment." Teachers try to change aggressive behavior, but their most common approach is to talk to children and to expect from reasoning with them that the undesirable behavior will disappear and desirable behavior will be substituted. They do not consider that they might suggest an alternative behavior and then reinforce this preferred response. Teachers do not have the notion of "shaping behavior," nor do they work out a plan which they think of as desirable for promoting a child's social adjustment. For example, when asked, "What have you taught the children during the past week?" teachers answer in terms of teaching facts rather than in terms of social adjustment which they had stated was their most important goal. They respond in terms of talking with the children about different kinds of animals and plants, about community institutions such as the school, about seasons like spring and summer, about firemen and post offices, money and trains and foreign peoples, about clocks and water and buttoning one's shoes, about singing songs or about how to play a new game.

Age-Grouping

Is it most useful to divide children into groups according to age so that they are as alike as possible or is division into mixed groups best so that the children are as different as possible? Of the few investigations of this question,² all indicate that a homogeneous group narrows the horizons of children and that the presence of older children increases the amount of imaginative behavior in younger children. Also, the presence of younger children among the older ones stimulates increased social and sympathetic behavior. Furthermore, the speech development of two and three year olds may be retarded if they are exclusively segregated within their own age group.

However, even when children of different ages are playing together, groups are kept small in number. The staff ratio of 1:5 in Swedish child centers allows for small groupings and much individual attention.

Parents: Teachers are always willing to give parents advice on child management when they think it is necessary or when asked, and there are from three to six evening meetings for parents and staff at intervals throughout the year. But there is nothing similar to the United States experience with parent advisory committees or parent participation in policy decisions. In fact, Swedish parents are often glad to have decisions left in professional hands at the Center and at the Social Bureau; but younger parents, especially student parents, now begin to want to have their say and give their advice too.

Integration With The Comprehensive School: Pre-school teachers want more opportunities for cooperation with the primary schools and more continuity of their programs with those children will encounter in first grade. Several directors spoke of the desirability of having both day-nurseries and nursery schools administered under the school board instead of by health and welfare, and of having training colleges integrated into the Schools of Education which prepare students for teaching in the comprehensive schools. They would also prefer pre-schools, with or without day care arrangements, to be housed in connection with the primary school, which usually is a smaller unit of the public school, housed in detached bungalow type buildings. Arrangements are now beginning to be made for professional visits and observations between the elementary school and pre-school centers.

There is currently a research demonstration project, in progress at the Pedagogical Institute in Malmö, which is designed to integrate a group of six year olds and their pre-school teachers into an ungraded setting with primary children from 7-10. This ungraded class situation would be a departure from current practice in Sweden since the same teacher now stays with the same children through first, second and third grades. Instead, there will be team teaching and the pre-school teachers will be a part of the team. The hope is that the teachers will socialize one another, modifying attitudes and opinions and sharing information. (Many educators believe that pre-schools are too "unstructured" while the primary level is "too rigid.") For this experiment two-thirds of the content for the 6-year-olds will be the same as for other preschool children but one third of the time will be allocated to reading, writing and arithmetic. Pre-school teachers at present are not taught how to do this and it is hoped that they can learn by observation of the primary teachers.

Some pre-school directors are using a Swedish adaptation of Montessori and some are teaching the five and six year olds to read if they are ready. In fact, readiness is at the heart of the problem of discontinuity between nursery and primary schools.

To summarize, Swedish nursery schools are viewed as a supplement to the often small Swedish nuclear family* and day nurseries and free time centers are seen as a substitute for care in the home. The Board of Education now emphasizes in its recommendations that buildings and room arrangements should be "homelike." Thus they are to function as an extension of the home rather than the school. The Board of Education intends that "Children should learn to function together in a group and (they) should jointly obtain certain knowledge of conditions outside the home, for instance by excursions or field trips. Such experiences can be pedagogically exploited in group work or free creative work of different kinds."

This is a reflection of the philosophy of early childhood education in Swedish pre-schools which do not at present attempt any direct preparation for primary school and provide very little in the way of actual instruction. They are intended, instead, to provide an extension of upbringing in the home, and to offer children contacts with other kinds of environments in order to prepare for later social demands of school life. The major goal is to promote the development of "personality" and "social adjustment" and to "promote independence" from mother's apron strings.

In order to accomplish this, Swedish child care centers offer developmental provision in the following ways:

- 1) physical-sensory stimulation-there is time and opportunity to cuddle, pat, and fuss over the child.
- 2) stimulation of motor activity -- children have lots of room and freedom to move about.
- 3) social stimulation-children have lots of attention from both adults and older children.
- 4) cognitive stimulation-children are talked with and given opportunities for speech development.
- 5) perceptual stimulation-there are materials and opportunities for many different sensory impressions.
- 6) emotional stimulation-the children know that caretaking people are fond of them.

*Half of the Swedish families with children under 16 have only one child. The average number is 1.8 per family - a situation which has not changed much in the last decade. On the other hand 16 percent of families with children under 16 have 3 or more children and their children need preschools for other reasons.

Teacher Education: In 1962 the Swedish Parliament nationalized two-year training colleges for nursery school teachers and placed them under the supervision and inspection of the National Board of Education. At that time there were 6 training colleges with a capacity for admitting 224 trainees each year. By the spring of 1969 some 4,130 applicants were competing for 1,410 places in 14 colleges. Requirements for acceptance include the following:*

1. Applicants must be 19 years old.
2. They must have satisfactory final marks from the gymnasium stream of the 9-year comprehensive school or the second year of a folk high school, or a learning certificate from the final year of a municipal girl's school.
3. They must have previous experience in the care of infants in the form of 16 week's training or practice work which could include living-in with a family as a child-tender.
4. They must complete 16 weeks of training work with a qualified nursery school teacher in a group care facility.

Applications for admissions are sent to the Teacher Training Department of the National Board of Education where eligibility is assessed by means of automatic data processing. Admissions are finally decided by a special admissions committee appointed by the Board of Education.

Subjects accorded the greatest relative time in the curriculum are psychology, particularly developmental psychology, teaching methods, and a course called Institutional Theory. These major subjects are supported by courses in civics, child psychiatry, health, ethics, Swedish, music, rhythm, painting, modeling, art, and handicraft. The Board of Education provides curriculum with precise aims for instruction in each subject and for the practicum. About the same amount of time is allotted for practice teaching as is given to academic subjects. Instruction for the practicum is assigned mainly to nursery schools operated by local authorities, but state supported residential institutions for the care of children are bound by law to assist in the practical training of teachers.

The planning of the study and selection and shaping of study tasks is a matter of cooperation between teachers and students. Independent activities for the students are stimulated by giving them ample opportunity for expression of opinion and for the assumption of responsibility for realizing their own educational goals. This aim is realized through participation in an extensive group project related to the psychology of child development or to pedagogics. Students serve on faculty committees

*Information presented here comes in part from an interview with Mrs. Karin Strömberg-Lind, Director of Nursery School Teacher Training, National Board of Education.

and there seems to be more active participation and self-determination for students in the nursery school colleges than for those in the infant and primary school training programs. There is fairly close and continual monitoring of the students' work in order to identify in a positive manner both strong points and weaknesses. These checks on progress are viewed primarily as a pedagogic technique to make training more effective and grades, insofar as possible, are kept in the background. Ultimately, however, these supervisory sessions provide the foundation for decisions regarding final marks. It is thought that individualized supervision minimizes competition among students, and nursery school teachers reportedly are better satisfied with their professional preparation than their fellow students in other types of teacher colleges.

The requirements for admission to training for nursery school "nurses" are 1) nine years education and 2) three months practical experience in caring for young children. Applicants for training must be 18 years or older and give evidence of good health. Training of nursery nurses (Barnavardslaräre) is for a period of 5 to 9 months and is given by experienced preschool teachers in special schools. Other day care staff, except for teachers, must have 90 hours of instruction in child development, health care, food and nutrition, and they must give evidence of good character. Job applicants are checked out against the case register at a local social bureau.

B. Quality of Care: Standards and Guidelines

Organizing New Centers: Auspices: Child centers are a voluntary effort on the part of local authorities, strongly encouraged by the state. The term, "Child Center," is used to cover day nurseries, nursery schools and free time centers for children 7-11 years old. The Minister for Family Affairs has promised an expansion of such facilities throughout the country with continued priority being given to the big cities and developing industrial districts. Stockholm, for example has 30% of all places in day nurseries, 25% of the places in nursery schools and 50% of the places in free time centers. Impetus for expansion of day care services has come from the Central Committee for Cooperation which was appointed in 1963 and which is based on a concept similar to the 4-C's in the USA. Members represent The Board of Health and Welfare, the Labor Market Board, the Board of Education, the Association of Swedish Local Authorities, the Swedish Lawyers Confederation and the Swedish Trade Union Confederation. This committee has sponsored studies of changes in population and in female participation in the labor market, and of the technical, economic and organizational factors involved in the planning and building of day nurseries and day care centers. Since 1964, county committees have been created to promote the development of child centers within their respective areas. It is hoped that by 1975 all working parents who wish to place their children will have available an appropriate type of day care program. As an incentive

to municipal authorities the State government offers subsidies and loans in varying amounts for different types of child centers. For example, the grant to subsidize operating costs amounts to about 20-25% of the cost of operating day nurseries and about 18% of the operating costs for extended day care.

Although 85% of the child centers are under the jurisdiction of municipal authorities, 15% are sponsored by associations, industry and county councils. Anyone setting up a day nursery which meets standards can obtain a state starting grant to cover most initial costs and additional funds, if necessary, are available as loans. State support to nursery schools was abolished in February 1966-67 to encourage greater allocation of resources to full day care so that more mothers could participate in the work force. However, a Royal Commission on Pre-School Education and Day Care is presently studying the feasibility of providing compulsory pre-school experience for at least all 6 year old children. In a preliminary report on goals of preschool education, issued for public discussion, The Commission has presented a pedagogical program for Child Centers which is designed for the years from infancy through school entering age.*

To qualify for state reimbursement the organizers of the child center must make all places available for activities lasting for at least 5 hours per day. This means that there must be facilities for rest and sleep and the serving of cooked food. If the nursery school is in a residential area which is eligible for state loans, a housing loan can be obtained for the building.

New centers can be organized under varying auspices, public or private, or a combination of public and private; group or individual. Forsberg's Minnie is an example of a day nursery sponsored by a private family, who have provided the lot, the building and the equipment, and by the municipality of Lund which operates the program. A similar arrangement is Tuna Stugan which was organized by the University of Lund Student Union and which is operated by the Social Bureau. Tuna Stugan combines a day nursery, pre-school and free time school and, like the Minnie, it is open to all children as names come up on the waiting list at the Social Bureau. Day nurseries which are open only to employees are exemplified by The Lazarett, which was organized by the Regional Hospital in Lund, and Röda Stugan which is operated in connection with a factory. Björkhagens (Birth Meadow) day nursery (daghem) in Malmö and Henriksdalsberget (daghem) in Nacka, (a suburb of Stockholm), were planned and are operated by their respective municipalities. Morgonsol (Morning Sun) in Gothenburg belongs to the Salvation Army. If voluntary agencies request no public subsidy, they are not obliged to adhere to state standards.

*The final report is expected in Spring 1972.

The factory, student union, and private family represent instances of collaboration between public and private sponsors; the hospital day nursery represents collaboration between two public agencies, the county council (health) and the municipal social bureau; and the Salvation Army program is privately owned and operated.

Location: Centers that serve factory or hospital employees are located at the places of employment. Those organized by the social bureaus tend to be planned and located in connection with housing developments, either single family houses or in apartment complexes. The centers are housed in separate, single story buildings specifically designed as day nurseries. Tuna Stugan, sponsored by the Student Union in Lund, is in a park near the University which is in a residential neighborhood. Morgonsol is in a lower middle class suburb in Gothenburg. It is at some distance from the children's homes but, since it is for temporary residential care when mothers are temporarily incapacitated, parents do not come and go on a daily basis.

Selection: Local communities make a survey of need for day care which goes into a 5 year plan for municipal construction. This estimate is the responsibility of the local child welfare committee and is carried out at their direction by the day care unit in the Social Bureau. Children's allowance records are used as the starting point, supplemented by interviews, and the social bureaus have very accurate records on the numbers and residences of preschool children. There are no eligibility requirements for placement and waiting lists are long. Parents register children at birth and in Sweden as a whole only about half of all 6 year olds are in any kind of group care before they enter school. Preschools are more common than day nurseries, (See Table 1.) In principal, they take children between 4 and 7 but the majority of children attending are 6 year olds. Nursery schools are not open during the summer or Christmas holiday.

TABLE I

Daghem		Day nurseries	Nursery schools	Play centers	Municipal Family Day Nurseries
1960	8,250		38,400	2,450	4,000
1970	38,620		79,440	7,531	35,000

projected

by

1975 (70-75,000)

(85,000)

Number of group-care facilities: 2,931

Number of registered children in group care: 125,591

* Private family day nurseries-not subsidized : 60,000
Home Helps-family with small children: 20,000

During the 1960's the number of places in day nurseries tripled and the number of places in family day nurseries increased nine-fold. It is estimated that the number of places in extended day and recreation centers will increase by 9,000 per year. Municipalities must keep 1:1 ratio for increases in family day care if they are to get state subsidies for group care facilities.

Access to group care varies from district to district. Table II below shows the increase in number of group care facilities during the past decade. Although in principle there are no eligibility requirements,

TABLE II
INCREASE IN NUMBER OF GROUP CARE FACILITIES *

Year	Number of places in Day Nurseries	Recreation Centers (ages 7-11)	Family Day Nurseries	Total	Nursery Schools number of children
1960	8,250	2,450	4,000	14,700	38,400
1970	37,000	6,600	35,000	78,600	85,000

Source: Socialstyrelsen och Statsverkspropositionen, May 1970.

in practice, excess of demand over supply leads to establishing priorities. Students, working mothers, disabled mothers and single parent families are given preference. There are, for example, 27,000 working mothers of preschool age children and 100,000 single parent families with 130,000 preschool children.*

Staffing and Grouping: In the recent past, expansion of early child care programs was limited by the scarcity of professionally educated nursery school teachers. This shortage of personnel in turn was caused by a scarcity of teachers for all levels of primary and secondary education so that priority was given to the training of teachers for older children. Now, however, the National Board of Education is encouraging communities to plan for construction of new centers.

* 11,000 of these single parent families are male-headed families.

The number of children per staff varies with age according to standards set by the National Board: *

Child Center	Age	Maximum #
Day nursery (Daghem)	6 mo.-1 year	8
	2 years	10
	3 & 4 years	12
	5 & 6 years	15
Nursery school (Lekskola)	3 & 4 years	15
	5 & 6 years	20
Fritidshem	7 to 11 years	15

Day nurseries are staffed by preschool teachers, children's nurses, and students-in-training. There are two teachers for each age group except for the youngest who are cared for by nurses, with a ratio of one nurse to every four babies. If preschool teachers are not available for employment, qualified children's nurses may be used with the older children also. Students-in-training cannot be counted as staff for purposes of meeting the Board's requirements. Preschools, which meet only half days, have one preschool teacher in charge of each group and one or more nurse(s) working under her supervision. There must be one trained staff person for every five children over 2 years. In addition, each center has a director, kitchen help and cleaning and maintenance help. Child visitors take care of sick children who must stay at home. There is one adult for each group of 15 children in leisure-time or extended-day schools.

Administration: Parents pay the local authority a charge based on a sliding fee schedule adjusted to family income, size of family, and number of children in day care. But in no instance is the cost more than SKr (\$4) per day for day nurseries, and it is considerably less

*The future ratio of adults to children recommended by the Royal Commission will be 1:4 in infant and toddler groups, 1:5 in groups of children between 2½-7. In the future children in the centers will no longer be strictly age-separated but, where possible, grouped in vertical age-groups as in a family. Staff will work in small flexible teams with the intention to give children a concrete model of cooperative work, planning problem - and conflict-solving. (Source of information: Marianne Kärre)

for low income families, for same as low as 20c per day. The monthly fee for preschool varies from SKr 20-40, (\$4.00-8.00,) although in some municipalities preschool is free. Leisure centers charge from SRr 10-30 (\$2.00-6.00) per month. There are some complaints from staff and social workers who place the children that this limit on fees is too low. Even though the program is not means-tested, the fact that day care is almost universally desired as well as limited in supply leads to the assignment of space on the basis of social need and this results in an over-representation of low income families.

There is little staff turnover except for those who are serving an apprenticeship to qualify for acceptance into the training colleges. All women employees in Sweden are entitled to 6 months maternity leave so they do not need to terminate employment on account of childbirth. The staff is young, most of them are in their early 20's and morale is high. Staff are women, primarily because salaries are too low to attract men. One center in Malmö is pleased to be using conscientious objectors who are placed there for work in lieu of military service. There is general recognition of the desirability of having male staff and the colleges for preschool teachers are making vigorous efforts to recruit male students.* At the same time the National Board is considering a raise in salary scale for preschool teachers to make the work more attractive to men.

The Sick Child:

All children have health checks before admission. Immunizations have been done earlier at the maternal and child health clinics. The one-year-olds get topical fluoride applications to their teeth. If a child becomes ill after arrival at the Center, parents are notified and the sick child is kept in an isolation room until he can go home. Child visitors help working parents as a complement to child centers or family day care when a child is ill. If parents can not leave work, they can be called to fetch a sick child from a center and transport him home to care for him there. They are available even on weekends if parents are working. Home Health Committees screen and employ child visitors and arrange training courses for them.

A series of medical investigations show that children in pre-school (ages five and six) run no increased risk of colds but the younger children in day nurseries do. Some recent Swedish studies give more detailed findings which show that risk of infections varies according to the child's home environment. The occurrence of contagious diseases among primary school children is greater among children who have not gone to nursery school than among those who have. Of course, from the primary teachers' point of view it is better to have children absent from pre-school than from first grade. Swedish nursery school children risk fewer accidents than children of the same age who remain at home.

*Since fall 1971, male candidates may enter on a "free quota" (15% of available places) if their credentials are acceptable, even if not fully comparable with the best of the female candidates. In 1971 62 men (of 225 male applicants) were accepted.

The Deviant Child: Case-finding for psychological problems is done by the physician. If there is need for referral to social services, the physician or teacher gets in touch with the district social worker in municipalities that have decentralized social services, or with a child welfare worker in the central Social Bureau.

The Social Bureau in Malmö, for example, employs psychologists to work with the whole family when a child is referred for help. In other places, if a psychologist works directly with a child, his parents must first consent to treatment. In Malmö, district social workers, generalists who are assigned to families rather than to specialized services, make recommendations to the Day Care Unit for placements in the three day care nurseries for emotionally disturbed children and the one day nursery for (100) physically handicapped children.

As for behavior problems in the Centers, the director of Forsberg's Minnie summed up the attitude typical of center staffs:

One must have time to listen and enough toys and space and materials for play. There must be room to run and teachers must be fair. Children cannot tolerate injustice. When these conditions are met, there is no behavior problem.

C. Family Day Care, Farming Day Nurseries,
and Extended Day Centers

Family day care may be for half day or full day care and is viewed as a supplement to, not a substitute for group care. It is used for children who are especially susceptible to infection or who have difficulties with social adaptation to group experience. For working parents who have irregular hours of employment, family day care also offers more individualized service than day nurseries or pre-schools. Some children are cared for overnight. It is also possible to combine pre-school with family day care when there is no space in a day nursery for full day supervision and a group experience is desirable.

Supervision of municipal day care homes is carried out by local child welfare committees. Homes are recruited and approved by professionally educated social workers. Placements must be made with consideration of parents' preferences regarding the location and suitability of the day care home. Before a child is placed, the agency makes an agreement with the day care mother concerning such specifics as how many hours the youngster will be in her home, meals and mealtimes, and vacation care.

Social workers from the child welfare unit make regular supervisory visits. They serve also as liaison between the day care home and the working parent to avoid possible sources of conflict. Financial reimbursement and fee collection is made through the child welfare unit, not through direct interchange between parents and the day mother. Day care mothers are paid only by actual day of care given. The rate is \$2.70 an hour, which is taxable, and a dollar per day for food, which is not taxable. In addition there are social benefits such as holiday pay, health insurance, and pensions. State grants subsidize 35% of the costs for family day care, subject to the condition in larger municipalities that at least an equal number of places are available in day nurseries. Day mothers must take a 90-hour course in child care given at the vocational school, but they are paid a stipend to attend the training course. They are also encouraged to participate in staff conferences and parent-teacher meetings at their nearest child center in order that they may experience solidarity with the professional staff and learn more about their philosophy of care.

Applications to the day care units show that a majority of parents prefer group care to family day homes. They feel more certain that a check is kept on health and nutrition, and that the children will be provided with suitable play materials and a fairly generous space in which to play under the supervision of professional staff.

Lund has also a special arrangement called "the three-child-system." A nurse looks after three children from three homes, using one home each week on a rotating basis. Parents provide food for the nurse and children when it is their turn for the week and pay the usual day care fee on a sliding scale basis. The family must have a suitable home including adequate space. The Social Bureau pays the nurse's salary and transportation. The cost to the community for this "three-child-system" is SKr 15-20 * per day compared to SKr 30 per day for group care.

Farming Day Nurseries: The scarcity of hands for seasonal harvest work, sugar beets in southern Sweden and haymaking during the short summer in northern Sweden, has made it necessary to provide for the care of young children while their mothers are occupied in the fields. Since the 1940's, therefore, rural districts have organized and operated farming day nurseries. Today there are some 90 rural day nurseries to take care of children during periods when their mothers are working in the harvest. Generally about 25 children from the ages of 1 to 7 are admitted for whole day care. The most difficult problem still remaining is the recruitment of trained staff for the relatively short seasons of harvest. In northern Sweden, however, when the seasons of harvest coincide with holidays in urban nursery schools and training colleges, there is the possibility for employing both teachers and students during their vacations. The contributions of these professional teachers and their students have demonstrated the value of quality group care, so that in some districts the summer day nurseries

*1 Swedish Kroner = approximately \$0.19 American (1970).

have evolved (like Head Start in the U.S.) into year-long enterprises. In such cases where it has been possible to offer teachers permanent employment, rather than temporary summer work, it is not so difficult to find qualified staff.

Leisure-Time Centers: For the last ten or twelve years social welfare authorities have sponsored a program of leisure activities for children and young people in neighborhood areas which they call "preventive youth care." The municipality provides recreation centers and other activities and the ultimate responsibility rests with the local child welfare committees. These social centers cooperate with various local associations and in some municipalities there is a youth council which functions as the coordinating body between local associations and the child welfare committee. For an area of about 10,000 people such a center will usually include a cafe, a hall for sports, gymnastics and dancing, a larger assembly hall for special programs, perhaps a theatre, a number of hobby rooms and small group meeting rooms or study rooms.

One such center, Östergård in Malmö, is open until 10:00 p.m. on weekdays and until midnight on weekends. One of the services offered is a "child park" for children aged 4-7. The charge for this service is one SK (19¢) for each child while the mother goes shopping or does errands. In the evenings there are small club meetings for handicapped children who afterward mix in for recreation with the normal children. At first, parents of the mentally retarded children were apprehensive about their mixing because they thought their handicapped children would be teased, but the ordinary children were prepared with some information on mental retardation and the social mixing has worked out well. There is a traffic school for very young children and, for the mentally retarded, there are also classes for cooking, theatre, painting and teaching social skills. A group of 150 parents of mentally retarded children have their meetings at the Center.

Östergård Fritidsgård is located in an area whose residents are mostly immigrants, Finns, Yugoslavs, Greeks and Italians. The library there is staffed by energetic and visionary librarians who have set up an outreach program. For example, they canvass the area, knocking on every door to offer people library cards and tell them about the programs at the library. There are special sections with foreign language books from the immigrants' homelands, and classes for whatever studies residents would like to have offered, and there are also citizenship courses for those who are working toward naturalization. The library has a discussion program on current political and social issues for which they use film and invite guest speakers. There is also a guerilla theatre. The staff writes, composes music and creates the sets for plays which have topical social problem themes. In addition to two weekly presentations of their own plays for neighborhood residents, the guerilla theatre has organized a childrens' theatre. They show youngsters how to write their own plays, compose music, and act in their own performances. The theatre group goes outreach two days a week to people who are institutionalized in medical and mental hospitals and nursing homes. Their director explained that their aim is to "promote a heightened social consciousness and an awareness of issues which require thoughtful citizen participation."

The library hopes to raise the general literacy level in the neighborhood so that immigrant workers can take advantage of training programs which will permit them to take better paying jobs.

The Östergård social center is an example of the extension of youth activities into the adult age range, and of the extension of the age range downward to younger primary children, 7-11 years. This, in fact, is how most extended-school-day programs have developed in Sweden, namely as part of a neighborhood community center. The staff tries to create an extension of the home where students may get help with homework, ask questions relating to the school, discuss their opinions about teachers, classmates and friends, and pursue hobbies, much as they might do if they came home to mother after school. Centers are open ten hours a day, Monday through Friday. Some children attend the centers in the morning before school starts and then they are given breakfast. A hot meal or snack is served in the afternoon. Children can leave grade school grounds whenever they are not in formal classes and drop in at the free time centers. The number of places is limited to 15 children per group.

In Lund, Tuna Stugan represents a different type of organization, a combined nursery school, pre-school, and extended-day program. This is a prototype for other new child centers now being planned and therefore some extended-day programs will be attached to youth centers while others will be integrated with day nurseries and nursery school programs.

II. Social Philosophy and Family Policy

This report began with a look at a particular child care center, Forsberg's Minnie in Lund, and continued with a consideration of the philosophy of early childhood education, staffing patterns and the requirements for professional training and additional types of child supervision such as family day care and extended-day care. It is time now to look beyond the boundaries of the child centers to consider the social philosophy of the Swedish community which supports the structure of social planning, including planning for day care services. Values determine community goals and out of Swedish social values there develops that relationship of ends to means and those institutional structures which are necessary to achieve the valued goals. Day care, as one form of institutional arrangement, is related therefore to the broader vision of social planning in Sweden.

Social Planning in Sweden: Sweden is a small country of approximately 8 million inhabitants, over half of whom live in urban places. There is one school system, one broadcasting and television corporation, and there has been one long period of peace (160 years) which has produced a fairly homogeneous and relatively affluent society. The transactions of national and local governments are highly visible and responsive to the influence of

democratic process. This democratic process is highly valued and contributes to the formulation of the official school curriculum.

In a democratic society in which we are concerned to assign increasing responsibility to the individual, the schooling of the intellect is of great importance. The qualities particularly to be aimed at (in education) are clarity and order of thought, mental agility and acuity and the ability to consider matters critically and independently, to resist tendentious influence and to analyze, compare and summarize.³

Sweden is also a country of high employment and high taxation. In the last twenty years the state budget has grown from SKr 5 to 42 billion, but prices have only nearly doubled. While most European countries have a total level of taxation which is 30-35% of their GNP, Sweden collects 40.9% of their GNP in taxes and social insurance charges. The average industrial worker's annual income is approximately SKr 23,000 (\$4,370) of which some 25% goes to taxes and social insurance. In 1968, the national government allocated nearly SKr 17 billion to education and welfare but only a little over SKr 5 billion for defense out of a total budget of approximately SKr 38,534,944. Given a relatively high standard of living and full employment, together with the view that everyone has a right to help from the community when he needs it, Swedish citizens seem willing to allocate a large proportion of their national budget for social benefits.

Social policy is based on solidarity between and within generations. Those who are employed expect to pay the children's and study allowances, the old age pensions and the general sickness insurance. They look forward to being supported, in turn, by pensions paid for by adults who earlier had benefitted from the children's and study allowances. Social security is based on a principle of public national insurance, rather than primarily on employee insurance. It is supplemented by various demogran-
tants designed to meet the needs of special populations, for example benefits for children and their families.⁴

Family Benefits: The two major family benefits are the housing allowance and the children's allowance. A mother, or persons caring for a child under sixteen on her behalf, receive SKr 1200 in quarterly installments. For a family with three children this would amount to about 12% of the average earnings of male adults in manufacturing trades.⁵ This allowance is not subject to income tax and is administered through the social board at the direction of the child welfare committee.

A housing allowance, subject to a means test, is paid to about 50% of all families with two or more children and an estimated 90% of single parents. A family with three children in a living unit of four rooms, for example, can obtain up to SKr 2,640 (\$528.00). Newly married couples and single parent families can obtain home furnishing loans up to a maximum of SKr 5,000.

Homemakers are available for a short period of time for families in crisis, such as acute illness or childbirth, or for looking after children who are temporarily ill and unable to attend a day care center. Charges are made according to ability to pay, but the service is free for low income families. Holidays for housewives and other women who are particularly in need of a rest can be provided at reduced cost. Grants are awarded for the operation of holiday homes and housewives have travel costs paid from their homes to a holiday resort.

One free meal a day is served to all school children regardless of economic status and this adds a significant portion to the family's real income since food is the major item all household budgets. Some municipalities also offer free snacks in the afternoon for children who stay longer in school than 2 p.m.. All tuition, books, and supplies are free in comprehensive schools. A student allowance is paid to children over 16 as long as they remain in school and earn passing grades.

Health supervision includes free medical care from the child welfare section of the Social Bureau for pre-school children and from the school medical office after school entrance at age seven. Vitamins, iron and immunizations are free. Consultation and treatment at child guidance clinics is free also.

Mothers receive free advice, care and prophylactic medicines at maternity centers. Ninety percent of expectant mothers make use of these health centers. Expectant and recent mothers are reimbursed for 75% of the actual cost of dental care and obstetrics care is free. Counseling for birth control, including abortion, and marital counseling is offered at the maternity centers. Nearly all children are born in hospitals and all mothers receive a maternity allowance of SKr 1,080 from the national insurance fund. In the event of the birth of twins, the mother receives an additional SRr 540.

Working mothers receive a supplementary benefit based on earnings which is paid for time away from gainful employment for pregnancy and childbirth, including a six month's leave of absence in connection with childbirth.

Special help is provided by the local Social Board for unmarried mothers and their children, including the appointment of a guardian or barnavårdsman. Traditionally, these guardians were respected layman from the local community who were assigned a protector's or advocate's role in the absence of a father. Later on these functions were assumed by social caseworkers and there is now a movement afoot to abolish the practice. There are many unmarried couples, parents of children, who consider the appointment of a barnavårdsman an intrusion into the privacy of their family life. With the change in laws which has, in effect, abolished the "illegitimate child" status, many feel that this advocacy protection is no longer necessary. In cases where the father does not contribute to the financial support of his child, a yearly sum amounting to about SKr 1300 is paid until age of 18.

Medical Care: Health insurance is compulsory and a standard fee of SKr 31 per visit is paid by the insurance fund to publicly practicing physicians. Patients pay a standard fee of only SKr 7 per visit. This money goes to the county council which in turn pays the physician. If a person chooses a physician in private practice, then the national health insurance reimburses 75% of the cost of care according to an established list of charges. Hospital care is free, as are certain medicines and, in any case, no one pays more than SKr 15 for any single prescription.

To be insured for sickness benefits, a person must have earned an income of at least SKr 1800 annually. Women, however, who are married or who have a child under 16, can receive such benefits even if they do not earn wages. Housewives and students can pay a special premium and obtain supplementary sickness benefits. The benefit is paid as long as there is a loss of ability to work or until the person has retired. All activities in the medical and health sector are subject to supervisory control by the National Board of Health and Social Welfare.

Expansion of Day Care: In recent years large industries have faced a shortage of labor so that workers have been imported from other countries. Because of an acute housing shortage and their desire to live frugally, these immigrant families generally live in the few deteriorating neighborhoods of the large urban centers. Their children make up an educationally deprived group when they enter school, and it is recognized that these children should be placed in day care programs for a more intense socialization experience prior to school entry age. Full employment policies have contributed in another way to the increase in need and demand for day care services by attracting more and more mothers into employment at all levels of skill, and women who are attending universities or professional schools are especially active in asking for the expansion of day care services.* Along with low income and single parent families, students who are also mothers have highest priorities for use of any municipal child care center. It is not expected that a woman should interrupt or forego her educational career because she is also a mother.

Both the increasing need for women in the labor force and the recently sounded alarm over disadvantaged immigrant children have contributed to the demand for a rapid expansion of day care, and the changing status of women energizes this demand and converts it into one aspect of an evangelical crusade. The changing status of women and developmental provisions for young children are woven together in the overall design of the Swedish social fabric.

*The number of university students has increased by approximately 50% in the last decade and student unions, which are very active and well organized in Sweden, have not only undertaken to build student housing but also have organized day care facilities in collaboration with the municipal social bureaus.

The Changing Status of Women: The Swedish government is committed to the notion that measures to raise the status of women must be integrated with general policy aimed at economic and social benefits for the population as a whole. It is said that the question of women's rights should be viewed as part of the whole complex of roles and the division of labor imposed on men and women by tradition and child-rearing practices and, to a lesser extent, by legal mandate. The remedies, therefore, are viewed as not residing in special measures aimed to benefit women as a special category, but rather in the abolition of the special privileges, obligations and rights assigned to men. It is believed that no far-reaching changes in the distribution of functions and status between men and women can be achieved until men can assume a greater share of responsibility for the upbringing of children and the care of the home. There is a growing recognition by labor and employers' unions that fathers as well as mothers should be entitled to a leave of absence with pay to care for young children, and this without serious jeopardy to their careers. This emphasis on a free and open choice for both fathers and mothers between working inside or outside the home has done much to overcome negative attitudes about married women working during the years when they have small children at home.

As yet, Swedish society has not been able to provide enough child care facilities to guarantee full freedom of choice to all parents of small children. Current projections estimate that there are more than 200,000 mothers with children below the age of ten who would like to work if they could arrange suitable child supervision. This would mean more than doubling the present capacity for day care services.

Along with the affirmation of the right to exercise free choice, there is the belief that the care and upbringing of young children is a service to the community which ought to be paid for in wages and carry the same social security benefits for the parent who stays home as for the parent who goes out to work. This point of view is apparent in the directives issued to the governmental committee currently reviewing family policy. For example, legislation will be recommended for giving parents at home and wage earners equal benefits from the comprehensive social insurance program. Such social reforms would emphasize not only the matter of rights but also obligations. For example, women are expected to take an active part in trade union and political activities and to share the economic responsibility for child support. That is, it is expected that Swedish women should give some "return on the capital" which has been invested by the society in their education.

The economic gains that both the community and individual businesses stand to gain through greater equality between the sexes is being publicized. A number of Swedish industrial firms have taken a greater interest in the part-time employment of women and in areas where labor is in short supply, companies are beginning to broaden their recruitment to include women. Prohibitions are being eliminated on the participation of women in certain vocations that traditionally have been limited to men.

Both trade union organizations and the civil service guarantees women equal pay for equal work and the special ban on night work by women was abolished in 1962.

The reforms regarding the roles of the sexes are taken most seriously and, with few exceptions, Sweden makes no distinction between men and women with regard to rights or obligations. The few exceptions which do remain in the national pension schemes and the taxation system are under current review. There are concurrent efforts to extend to men equal protection in cases where there is positive discrimination in favor of women. This applies for example to the basic benefit to which women, but not men, working in the home are entitled. Labor market policy is being directed increasingly to the whole family. Some job training centers provide day nurseries so that both husband and wife can receive training at the same time. Persons who have been out of the labor market altogether and who want employment are considered the same as unemployed persons by labor market policy. Consequently, housewives as well as unemployed men are eligible for vocational training. One great advantage of labor market training has been to give a number of women skills in occupations previously regarded as exclusively masculine. It is increasingly common for women to be employed as crane operators, instrument makers, taxi and bus drivers. Part-time and evening instruction is in great demand and it is expected that the number of schools offering high school courses in the evening will be increased considerably during the next few years. Parents attending courses can take children with them since supervision is provided at the schools. The expansion of study grants has led to an increase in recruitment of girls into higher education. If both partners in a marriage are students, they both receive student allowances as if they were two single persons. In order to promote equality of the sexes, the spouse of a student can earn a normal income without any deductions from the student allowance awarded the other. Special children's allowances are paid to students with children, or with obligation to support them.

Two new ideologies concerning sex role definitions have been summarized by Edmond Dahlström in The Changing Roles of Men and Women.⁶ The moderate view assumes that a woman will be both mother and employee and that child care facilities must be provided so that she can work outside the home if she so desires. According to this moderate point of view, then, the duty of society is to make provisions so that a woman can choose between working and not working outside the home. The radical ideology, however, states that woman's emancipation and the achievement of equality between the sexes will be realized only when women continuously devote themselves to occupations outside the home. They must stop regarding the family as an institution for their own economic support and contribute instead to social growth for the general welfare of all. At the same time, a man's responsibility for and importance to his children is considered to be as great as a woman's. The radical view is that both men and women have one and the same role, "to be human." In this context, it is recommended that: 1) men should be educated and encouraged to take an active part in parenthood and given the same rights and duties as women when carrying out their parental role, and 2) that reduction in working hours is better distributed

by reducing the hours worked per day rather than by shortening the number of days worked per week. The expression "male emancipation" is used in Sweden to denote the right of a husband to remain home while his children are small and while the public debate continues between moderate and radical points of view, there are already visible consequences of the re-evaluation of sex roles which can be seen in social policy affecting employment, education and provisions for family welfare.

It is hoped that this brief review of family policy will give the reader some feeling for the texture of the social fabric into which developmental provisions for the socialization of young children are woven. The Swedes view life as of a piece so that the status of women is, in part, determined by the availability of day care programs and the curriculum in day care programs is, in part, a determinant of the future status of women.

III. Future Directions in Social Planning: The Royal Commission on Pre-school Education and Day Care

The Royal Commission on Pre-School Education and Day Care, chaired by Gertrude Schy-Björman, was appointed in 1968 by the Ministry of Social Affairs to carry out studies and make recommendations for national legislation on child care and supervision.

To date the work of the Commission can be summarized under five priority headings. The first consideration is whether all local authorities should be required to offer all children preschool experience for 1 and possibly 2 years.** As part of its deliberation, the Commission is trying to formulate more specific aims for the activities offered in preschools and day nurseries in order to propose a model pedagogic program. Investigations have been commissioned for the design of concept-building programs in science, language, arithmetic, music and drama.

Until recently Arnold Gesell's work has been the major guide for nursery school teachers who viewed children as being endowed with an innate epigenetic mechanism which guides the proper rate as well as the proper sequence of development. Teachers, therefore, awaited cues from the child concerning his social and psychological and physical maturation.

*Information on the Royal Commission on Pre-School Education and Day Care was obtained in part from an interview with Mr. Jan Hallendorf, Research Secretary.

**This proposal has strong support from the Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees.

However, experience with 5 and 6 year olds in the preschool has shown the need for more specificity of teaching goals and more intervention by teachers in the processes of cognitive and social development. Commission members are responsive to such attitudes as that expressed by one preschool director who said: "I don't do them a favor if I teach them to read. When they get to first grade, the teacher there doesn't like it The whole thing should be changed, but it's up to the government."

The preferred emphasis of the Commission is on "learning how to learn" through the encouragement of:

1. Observation and the development of perceptual discrimination.
2. Verbal and non-symbolic concrete description.
3. Classification - first from the child's own experience and then from an expansion of his experience.
4. Divergent thinking to enhance creativity and invention.

The second major interest of the Royal Commission is in parent education, particularly the promotion of cooperation between parents and school staff and the discovery of "pedagogical and psychological interventions to raise the socio-economic status of low income parents." They recognize the need for intensive parent education even before a child is born and believe this might be accomplished through the maternal and child health centers. The change implied from present practice would be a broadening of the education for childbirth now given at the prenatal clinics to include child development content and the recruitment of fathers into these education-for-parenthood interviews.

The third priority is to design curricula for education-for-parent-hood for children at the compulsory school level. The 9th grade curriculum presently has child development and child care as a specialized subject. The Commission would like to see this content diffused into other grades and throughout various subject areas. Two aims of education for parent-hood in the primary grades are: 1) to minimize traditional differences between the definition of father's work vs. mother's work and 2) to lessen life style differences between social classes.

The fourth interest of the Commission is in improvement of education for preschool teachers. Sweden is just beginning to make use of such techniques as videotapes for micro-teaching and there is great interest in learning about other innovations in teaching methodology. The Commission also is considering a proposal to add courses in adult psychology to the professional education curriculum so that preschool teachers can better understand the processes of adult socialization for their work with parents. A second change in teacher-training which will be recommended is the addition of courses in ecology and physical planning

to deal with environmental problems. Teachers, architects, psychologists, sociologists, physicians, and preschool teachers will be brought together to cooperate in joint work with students around specific projects.

Finally, the Commission is debating the relationship of preschool to school and to the wider society. At first the members viewed their work as that of designing a preschool situation which would complement the comprehensive 9 year compulsory school program. They have come to believe that the schools must evolve in response to individual needs; i.e. that social institutions must adapt to the needs of a child, rather than fit the child to the requirements of the school as a social institution. Moreover, it is now recognized that young children may have needs beyond those that can be provided for in a pleasant home by a loving mother, and it is being questioned whether "all round development," the avowed aim of preschool education, can be provided within the present structure of institutional arrangements for young children.

For example, the division of children into age-segregated units is a matter of much public discussion. Physicians, concerned with the avoidance of epidemics common in the crowded child centers of earlier years, have had a great deal of influence on building designs which separate children by age into small self-contained groups. Now, however, public health programs and improved hygiene practices have greatly reduced the prevalence and incidence of infections among young children. Furthermore, children who do not have common diseases during their day-nursery stage are apt to get them later when absences from primary school may have more serious consequences.*

Finally, many young Swedes are trying to invent a more collective way of life. They oppose the kind of supervision offered children in specialized and purely child-centered facilities which a critical journalist, Marianne Kärre, has called "a reservation of women and children," and they would prefer more open programs which would allow for human interchange with youth and adults of both sexes. It is argued that children should be in the center of adult life, not set apart from it, and it is suggested that child care centers should be planned for use by adults during their leisure hours and equipped also for adult hobbies. Centers could be neighborhood workshops for all residents in a given area: pensioners, school children, teenagers and part-time working adults. This "Together Center" is one model of neighborhood social integration in which child care is an integral part, but only one part of the program.

A draft of the Commission's recommendations is being circulated for critical commentary preparatory to final revision and it is expected that the completed report will be ready for publication in Spring 1973.

*It is expected that, by recommendation by the Commission on Pre-School Education and Day Care, age-integration will be tried out on a large scale in present and future centers. New centers will be built to let children choose freely between being together in a big "play-hall" or returning for quiet play in smaller and more home-like rooms where they can rest and sleep. Children will, where possible, be regrouped in groups of 0-2½ (maximum 12 children) and 2½-7 (maximum 18-20). Staff will work in small flexible teams in order to give children models of adult cooperation.

Interviews:

1. Mrs. Ingrid Arvidson: Cultural attaché, Royal Swedish Embassy, Washington, D.C.
2. Mr. Jan Berg: Architect and faculty, University of Lund.
3. Mr. Billekop: Staff, Copenhagen Municipal Social Welfare for Children and Youth.
4. Mr. Leif Bjødstrup: Director of Education for the Mentally Retarded, Region of Copenhagen and Children's Village at Vangede.
5. Mr. Eskel Björklund: Assistant Director, Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, Stockholm.
6. Dr. Bengt Börjesson: Director of the Stockholm Graduate School of Social Work and member of the Committee on Social Welfare Reform.
7. Dr. Åke Elmer: Director of the Lund Social Work High School.
8. Mr. Allen Everitt: Barrister, The National Association of Parents of Retarded Children, (FUB). Stockholm.
9. Mr. Henning Friis: Director, Institute for Social Research and Chairman, Social Reform Commission. Copenhagen.
10. Dr. Bertil Gran: Department of Educational and Psychological Research, School of Education, Malmo.
11. Dr. Birgitta Gran:
12. Dr. Karl Grunewald: Head of the Division for the Mentally Retarded, National Board of Health and (Social) Welfare, Stockholm.
13. Mr. Jan Hallendorf: Research Secretary to the Royal Commission on Pre-School Education and Day Care, Stockholm.
14. Mrs. Bodil Jordan: Faculty, Danmarks Sociale Højskole, Copenhagen.
15. Dr. Anna-Lisa Kälvesten: Research sociologist, Skå Children's Village and the Katarina Bangata Center, Stockholm.
16. Mrs. Marianne Kärre: Journalist for Stockholm's Dagens Nyheter. Specializing in day nursery, pre-school care, and care for handicapped children.
17. Dr. Eva-Marie Köhler: Psychologist, Day Care Unit of the Lund Social Bureau, and faculty, University of Lund.

Interviews: (con't)

18. Dr. Lennart Köhler: Pediatrician, Department of Pediatrics, University of Lund.
19. Mrs. Irka Lappalainen: Caseworker, Malmö Social Bureau.
20. Dr. Ingrid Liljeroth: Research Psychologist, Vipeholm Hospital for the Mentally Retarded, Lund.
21. Ms. Karin Lindahl: Supervisor, Day Care Unit in the Lund Social Bureau.
22. Mr. Svante Lövegren: Acting Director, Research Bureau L:4, National Board of Education. Stockholm.
23. Ms. Kjerstin Ryden: Director, Bureau for Handicapped Children and Youth, Stockholm Region.
24. Mrs. Karin Strömberg-Lind: Director of Training for Pre-School teachers, National Board of Education, Stockholm.
25. Mr. Karl-Axel Svered: Pedagogical Institute, School of Education, Gothenburg.
26. Mrs. Gunnel Swedner: Faculty, Social High School, Lund.
27. Dr. Karl Swedner: Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Lund.
28. Miss Martha Ullerstam: Director, The "Östergård/Osterhus Project, Malmö.
29. Mr. Lennart Wessman: Director of Special Education, Stockholm Metropolitan Area.

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